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Moscow changes tack on arms policy

…Soviet Union is prepared to enter …s about reducing medium-range nuc… missiles without laying down pre-con…ions. This was the main point arising …the trip to Moscow by the Bonn …eign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Gensch… He spoke with both Soviet Foreign …ister Andrei Gromyko and party …f Leonid Brezhnev.

Moscow diplomats are past masters in the arts of alternating the stick …the carrot. For some months now, …iet propaganda has been extremely …s on Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-…etrich Genscher, who recently paid a …ee-day visit to Moscow.

Now the tune has changed completely …Genscher is being pampered with …mpliments. Clearly at times when …scow's relations with Washington and …kyo are cool, all the more importance …attached to Western European policy.

In September last year, *Pravda*, the …ntral organ of the Soviet Communist …ty, *accused* Genscher of "gross at…s and slanders on the USSR and its …ign policy."

…gain in February *Pravda* wrote that …scher had sunk so low that he had …gotten the "elementary norms of in…national dealings."

…t said that Genscher was an exem…ry pupil of Washington, someone …o repeated everything Washington …d. And the Soviet press blamed him …ve all for "ringing the bells of anti-…viet slander."

Soviet propaganda's methods against Genscher can be summed up in the phrase: beat him in order to wrest political concessions from him.

The Soviet aim is to persuade the Bonn government to fall in after all with their proposal for a moratorium on the Nato decision to modernise its medium-range nuclear weapons arsenal — even though Genscher's position on this issue is uncompromisingly clear.

The word is that Soviet attempts to broach the subject of medium-range missiles or to persuade Genscher to go back on a Nato decision would be to little purpose. The same source said that the demand for military equality must also apply to the Federal Republic of Germany.

In what areas, then, can progress be made? Genscher's journeys to Washington and now to Moscow remind one of the bee's pollination function: the Soviets are interested in talking to Genscher because after his consultations with the new American administration he is the first Western politician who can give them a direct insight into the American way of thinking.

He can thus have a fertilising effect on the Soviet viewpoint.

However, the signs at the moment indicate that there is little likelihood of an improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States.

The East-West climate is not good and developments in Poland make a thaw anything but probable at the moment.

The assassination attempt on President Reagan will put him out of action for some time and so will hardly accelerate the proceedings.

Peter Seidlitz

(Handelsblatt, 1 April 1981)



Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Moscow with Soviet party chief Leonid Brezhnev. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Poland: food crisis or not?

Now that the Polish trade union Solidarity has called off plans for a …eral strike, panic reports in the War…w press that the country only had 12 …s' supply of food have disappeared.

This indicates that the reports have …ved their purpose of putting pressure …n Solidarity and provoking housewives …ainst their striking husbands.

At the very least, the accuracy of these …ports is open to doubt and even if …lish discontent with the tricks of the …vernment is understandable it is to be …ped that someone in Warsaw underestimated the supply situation.

If the Poles' survival depended on …d supplies from the EEC, they would …in a bad way indeed. True, the EC …mmission, after lengthy deliberation, …s agreed on a second immediate aid …ogramme for Poland, but before meat, …tter and sugar reach Polish families' …les some time will pass.

The first aid programme took several …onths. For some weeks the Poles could …finance the imports. Private banks … no longer prepared to give Poland

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Irish premier and foreign minister visit Bonn

Eire Premier Charles Haughey visited Bonn recently for talks with the Bonn government. Haughey, who was accompanied by Foreign Minister Lenihan, met Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and President Karl Carstens.

Their discussions centred on EEC questions, the international situation and the preparation of the Ottawa economic summit.

At home, Haughey faces a difficult economic situation, and that in election year. In February the inflation rate, which was 19 per cent last year, rose to 21 per cent. Of this 2.3 per cent was caused by higher indirect taxes introduced in January. Further price rises can be expected when Eire devalues the green pound and home farm prices rise as a result.

Inflation is going hand in hand with slow growth. In its last budget the government forecast faster growth of the gross national product — but after the high inflation rise of 1980 growth only rose 1 per cent.

It is hoped that an investment budget introduced in January will give further impulses to growth. However, Dublin economists are not optimistic. With growth almost static and unemployment rising (more than 12 per cent), the gap in the balance of payments is likely to increase. The deficit of 750m punt is now expected to rise to 1.1bn punt by the end of the year.

The balance of payments for 1980 shows a drop in the deficit from 1.4 to 1.0bn punt. The main reason for this is a drop in imports.

(Handelsblatt, 31 March 1981)

Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey is welcomed to Bonn by Chancellor Schmidt. (Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

The next edition of THE GERMAN TRIBUNE will appear on 26 April.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Confusion in the ranks over Common Market farm deal

Nothing sums up more eloquently the present state of the European Community than the fact that many of its decisions are not even understood by the experts involved.

Several hours after the ten ministers of agriculture had agreed on farm prices, and long after the news agencies had reported on the compromise, agricultural experts in Bonn were still unsure about how to interpret it.

The price rise was 9.6 per cent in Ecus, or European units of account. It appears that this means a rise of 4.8 per cent in deutschmarks and of 12.4 per cent in French francs — a fact which the experts understandably found baffling. But they were even more diligently looking for the snags, which they were convinced, would exist in the arrangement.

The suspicions of the experts, who have constantly to deal with a flood of new regulations, is paralleled by the irritation of many people.

They cannot understand the sense of policies which lead to butter mountains and milk lakes — policies against which even farmers demonstrate because they do not guarantee them an adequate income.

The fact that even products which are plentiful are getting dearer and dearer appalls free-market economists.

Those responsible explain this by saying that farmers must also benefit from the general increase in income. At the same time, however, Bonn Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl stressed that the price rises would not help the worst-off quarter of the 100,000 full-time farms in West Germany.

However, it was mainly these farmers who demonstrated for higher prices in Bonn market square and elsewhere.

The agriculture ministers' tightrope walk between the wishes of the farmers and those of the consumers and taxpayers, between countries such as Denmark, the Netherlands and France, who want to increase agricultural capacity even in surplus areas, and West Germany, where payments to the common Brussels fund take priority, has long been part of community ritual.

As Giscard D'Estaing is relying on farmers' votes in the forthcoming French presidential elections, a compromise in the coming weeks would no longer have been possible.

The heads of state and government foresaw this in May of last year. The package where West Germany stepped in to fill the gap in community finances left by Great Britain included a commitment to agree to the new farm prices by April 1 of this year.

This leaves only two points open both of special interest to West Germany the solving of the fisheries dispute and the start of agricultural policy reform to cut the rises in costs.

However, if the recent decision is interpreted as the start of agricultural policy reform then the chances of a rational system being worked out look grim.

If the agricultural market is to remain within the means of the EEC, then it is going to have to start calling in some of the gifts which were handed out in the early days of the community when money was no object and when money bought willingness to compromise in the annual price rounds.

One thing the ministers of agriculture have done is to take some of the sting out of the explosive farm market issue. The dynamism of agricultural prices has even been braked — at least … to the calculations of the agri… ministers.

Paradoxical though it may sound … too has its negative side. The further ministers get out of their financial … jacket, the less will be their … to introduce more free market … anisms into the farm price … Financial pressure has triggered … certain learning process in Brussels … cently, with the result that a … costly EEC subsidies were stopped.

Classic example of oil-slick theory

The EEC agricultural policy is … sical example of the oil-slick theory … the inevitable spread of the … economy whenever the laws of … market economy are broken.

A considerable effort of will is … ed to stop this development and … more to reverse it. But this is … necessary if the community is to … with Spanish and Portuguese entry.

Farmers are now objecting that … do not want European policy … financed at their expense. This is … rect. Nonetheless, they will have to … themselves how things are to … Scientists have shown yet again … farmers' income has improved … much because of higher farm prices … because of structural change, … small farmers have sold their farms …

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Poland

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new loans. And state guarantees could annoy Moscow.

Even this second aid action still has to take the finance hurdle. The bank consortium discussing the issue in London can take the EEC Commission declaration of intent as half a guarantee. The problem of French food supplies has already been alleviated as President Giscard d'Estaing has promised his Polish visitor, Jagielski, a loan.

The aid for Poland is expensive, but even more expensive would be a return to a cold war after a Soviet invasion of Poland.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2 April 1981)

Bundestag feelings run high on agriculture issue

Bitterness in the West German Bundestag about the EEC has reached an all-time high, even more so than in the days of de Gaulle's empty chair policies.

Disappointment and bitterness were the keynotes of both Opposition and Government speeches.

It was fortunate that the previous night the dispute about farm prices in Brussels had ended in a compromise, even though it was an expensive and hard-fought one.

Otherwise the Bundestag EEC debate would have been even tougher.

Of course there were differences of emphasis between Government and Opposition criticism of the EEC. The SPD/FDP coalition's wrath was directed at its European partners, especially the British, whereas the Opposition accused the Government of lack of skill in European policy.

However, this can simply be dismissed as a verbal compulsory exercise. No one in the Bonn Opposition can seriously accuse the Bonn government of lack of interest in Europe, and the CDU/CSU is fully aware of the trend towards more nationalistic approaches among our neighbours.

Of course there are changing coalitions within the EEC depending on interests. However, there are signs of an increasingly strong confrontation between the United Kingdom and the continental EEC members — in particular France and West Germany.

The British will have to face the fact that in future there will be no allies to support their special wishes. Schmidt and Giscard both agree on this. The crunch will come by the autumn when the question of compensatory payments comes up for discussion.

It is interesting to note how the factors keeping the community together have changed over the years. In the past it was mainly economic interests — coal and steel, the agricultural market, free trade. Today, political factors and a sense of political community predominate.

The community is now a respectable political unit. This is certainly no disadvantage if the grocers among the Europeans are forced by political and world political necessities to do their bit.

(General-Anzeiger, 3 April 1981)

America keeps cool despite Reagan assassination bid

The assassination attempt on President Reagan in Washington on 30 March, seemed to be a repeat of a tragic chapter in American history.

The circumstances resembled those of the assassination of John F. Kennedy on 22 November 1963 in Dallas, Texas.

This was a severe shock to America at a time of growing uncertainty and crisis throughout the world. There are, however, many safety measures in world politics by means of which dangerous situations can be kept under control.

But there is no equivalent means of protecting the life of the most powerful man in the western world in his own country. Unlike dictators, a democratic statesman is close to his citizens, and this exposes him to the danger of being the target of misguided or fanatical assassins.

There seems to be no satisfactory safeguard. The price of freedom therefore seems to be especially high in the land of unlimited possibilities.

Another thing this attempt had in common with the Kennedy assassination is that it was the attempt of an individual acting alone not so much to influence world politics as to draw attention to himself.

The fact that the 25-year-old gunman Hinckley joined politically insignificant the American Nazi party in 1978 pulls the ground from under those who saw the attempt as a remote-controlled communist plot.

Hinckley, who comes from a good middle class family in Evergreen, Colorado, seems to be one of those … people who achieve little success … in their studies or in everyday life … who therefore suffer from depression.

In the case of these rather weak individuals a day often comes when … feel that nothing will ever change … they do something dramatic.

Parallels between this attitude and … terror scene in other countries … West Germany are apparent. The difference is that Americans tend to be … viduals acting alone whereas other … rorists join underground organisations.

Despite all the consternation … dismay it is comforting that an … cannot trigger off a crisis with world … litical results. The American leadership … in the person of the vice-president … acted with composure and circumspection. No one in the Kremlin was … ed to believe that America was … into crisis.

(Allgemeine Zeitung, 1 April …)

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GERMAN AFFAIRS

MPs, officials look back to the Soviet-posed dilemma of 1952

The discussion on Moscow's Germany Note of March 1952 organised by the Konrad Adenauer House Foundation turned into a gathering of MPs and government officials who were involved in the debate at the time.

Adenauer House was a fitting backdrop for the exchange of arguments and counter-arguments, the Grand Old Man having long ago quietly taken leave.

But the meeting also marked another anniversary went almost unnoticed: that … March, but two weeks earlier (the …), the Soviet Union also sent its … allies a note proposing a four-power conference on a peace treaty with Germany.

Was it a fateful hour of the post-war … Or was it a ruse?

The Soviet move and the response to … had petered out by the autumn of 1952. But the ensuing debate has left an indelible mark on the Federal Republic of Germany's history.

Decades of delving by legions

Legions of politicians and historians spent decades delving into and arguing … matters German in connection with the Note.

… was there in fact anything in that … that could have given rise to hope? … was it only a last attempt to torpedo … Bonn's talks with the Western powers … a German treaty?

At the beginning of the discussion, the world of the veteran CDU men for … this was the view of the 1950s … still intact.

In his opening address, historian Hermann Graml said that the contention that an opportunity had been missed at the time was not something that originated in 1952 (when the Note was presented) but a projection in reverse made between 1956 and 1958 and emanating from the publicist Paul Sethe and that night-time Bundestag debate in which Thomas Dehler and Gustav Heinemann blamed Adenauer for the failure of Bonn's *Deutschlandpolitik*.

Even the most staunch of CDU men had their doubts as to the wisdom of Adenauer's refusal at the time to deal with the Soviet Note. The impact this doubt had on them was evidenced by the obvious satisfaction that Graml's line of argument caused.

Eugen Gerstenmaier told the meeting that it was more likely 100 than 50 times that, when addressing university students, he had been asked why there had been no positive response to the offer of talks — a question that came from what he termed "wounded souls".

"I was in two minds for many years on whether we had acted correctly," he said.

Graml, he said emotionally, his hand raised as if to ward off a temptation, "has freed me from this doubt." The words were directed at his fellow party member, Gradl, who had opposed Graml, saying that the problem was not the allegedly missed opportunity but whether or not a test had been made, "and such a test has been made."

But there was no way of answering whether such a test stood a chance or not.

Does this mean that the dispute must be turned into a matter of creed? Though it is unlikely that new facts will emerge, there are changes in perspective which make the events appear in a different light by viewing them from different vantage points.

Stephan G. Thomas, a confidant of Kurt Schumacher and former head of the Eastern Affairs Department of the SPD, diverted attention from West German-Allied disputes to the Soviet bloc which, he said, had been at a crossroads where it actually toyed with the idea of relinquishing Germany to prevent its rearmament.

But were the policy makers at the time actually capable of seeing things from such a vantage point?

It was Gerd Bucerius, at that time a CDU member of parliament, who guided the discussion back to the restructed field for which German politics of the time had opted.

Said Bucerius: "We had agreements ready to be signed on the one hand and a tiny hope on the other."

In weighing the two, the risk of probing further into the Moscow offer seemed too great. "It was as simple as this: We had to make a clear-cut decision for the one or the other within a matter of days."

Moreover, the Adenauer who had to make the decision at the time was not yet the father figure of 1957 and the CDU was far from being a cohesive "chancellor's party", nor was the Federal Republic of Germany an affluent society as yet.

At that time, said Adenauer researchers Klaus Gotto, Adenauer still had to worry about losing his majority.

Ex-chancellor Kurt-Georg Kiesinger pointed to opinion surveys of the time which showed that the popularity of the CDU had dropped to 29 per cent after the March Note and that of the SPD risen to 38 per cent.

Historian Arnulf Baring pointed to another reason for Adenauer's attitude. Adenauer, he said, had been convinced that the Germans would not be able to cope with the risk of negotiations with the Soviets and hence an existence on their own between the blocs.

This led the discussion to the basic convictions resting on half a century of German history on which Adenauer's policy hinged — an aspect that could help to explain reactions that transcended topical circumstances.

This includes the Germans' view of themselves.

Perhaps the reason for the lasting effect of the 1952 Note lies in the fact that the discussion has activated all this in relation to an exemplary situation.

Hermann Rudolph

(Die Zeit, 3 April 1981)

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… off to earn a living elsewhere in … economy.

This in turn meant that other components could expand and increase their …

With economies slumping and unemployment rising in West Germany and in other EEC countries in recent …, this development has practically come to a standstill. Even farmers who … otherwise sell up and go because … cannot manage very well feel they … to keep their farms because there … no alternative for them. So successful … policy is an essential precondition for improvements in agriculture.

The 4.8 per cent rise in farm prices should not be taken as a signal for the next round of pay negotiations.

Agricultural prices are not wages. … prices are not wages. But there is a … Excessive demands rebound on … makers. The farmers are putting … agricultural system at risk. Others … putting their jobs at risk.

Hans-Jürgen Mahnke

(Die Welt, 3 April 1981)

The meaning of 'fatherland'

The word "fatherland" still has a good ring to it in Germany, but not among young people aged between 16 and 29.

The question is whether these young people mistrust only the word or the thing itself because it has been politically abused. Still, words are vessels that can be filled with new meaning.

Ralf Dahrendorf once said that youth and mankind as a whole needs ligatures. He did not choose this word to avoid a term that has fallen into disrepute but because he thought of ties without exigencies that threaten freedom.

The homeland is one such ligature. Young people would probably react more positively if "fatherland" was replaced by "homeland" or "motherland" (as in "mother tongue").

The difference in the emotional content of the term should remind us to be careful with the term "nation" and that we must not permit ourselves to talk this term to death.

Those with a divided homeland must be even more careful in scrutinising such terminology.

The attitude of our young people should prompt education ministers to come up with an interim report on the question whether their proposals for the treatment of the German issue at school have been implemented — and if so, how.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 March 1981)

Survey shows 68 per cent favour reunited Germany



Sixty-eight per cent of West Germans favour reunification in a Western-type state, and only one per cent want a united Germany modelled on the East.

Seven per cent don't care about the form of government in a united Germany; 17 per cent are indifferent towards reunification while five per cent reject it outright.

These are the findings of an Emnid Institute opinion survey in January which have now been presented to the Bonn government and the political parties.

The Institute concludes: "Relating to the parties, CDU/CSU sympathisers are in the majority among those who favour sympathisers (27 per cent) who are indifferent towards reunification, compar- reunification in a Western-type state (75 per cent). This contrasts with 68 and 59 per cent respectively for SPD and FDP sympathisers.

"There are conspicuously many SPD ed with 14 per cent among CDU/CSU sympathisers."

Germans are largely pessimistic regarding actual reunification: 69 per cent hold that the Iron Curtain is a lasting border dividing Germany in two; 30 per cent hold the opposite view; and one per cent has no opinion.

Most blame the Soviet Union for the division of the nation (33 per cent); 23 per cent put the blame on the GDR government and 22 per cent on Hitler. Another 20 per cent blame the Western Allies, six per cent Adenauer and the CDU/CSU; and 13 per cent say that all bear some of the blame.

Fifteen per cent attribute the division of the nation to the two power blocs.

Solution lies in 'the course of history'

Asked who would be most likely to bring about reunification, 20 per cent said "the course of history."

Others said the governments of the GDR and West Germany (18 per cent); the USA and USSR jointly (17 per cent); the will of the people in the two Germanies (14 per cent); nobody (14 per cent); USSR alone (11 per cent); a strongarm politician (4 per cent); the USA alone and the UN (3 per cent each); the SPD-FDP coalition and Nato (2 per cent each); the CDU/CSU opposition and the churches (one per cent each).

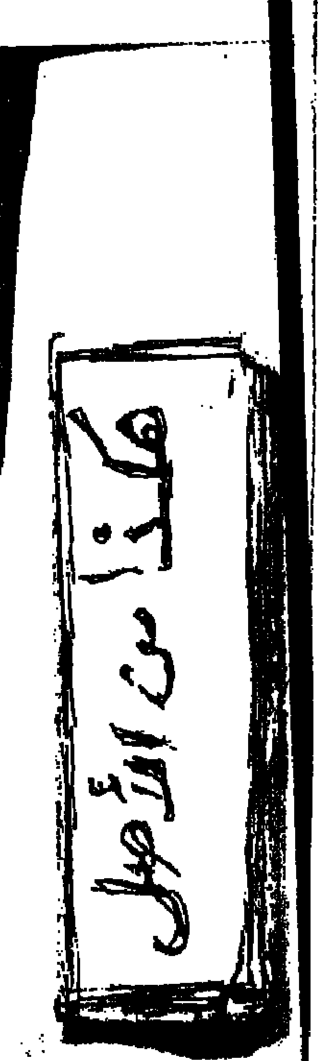
Sixty-eight per cent consider free elections in both parts of Germany as the way of achieving reunification. Only 26 per cent favour an agreement between the superpowers and four per cent wish for reunification under superpower pressure.

Sixty-three per cent say that peoples in such countries as Germany, Korea and China should press for reunification.

Thirty-four per cent, including many young people, want to accept the situation as it is.

Heinz Vielain

(Die Welt, 24 March 1981)



■ THE CHURCHES

Controversy over vote-for-Greens call by Protestant ministers

A small group of Protestant clergymen caused a minor sensation just before the Hesse elections by issuing an "appeal of Frankfurt clergymen to vote the Greens (evironmentalists) into the Frankfurt City Council."

There were two actual signatures on the leaflet plus the typewritten names of five Frankfurt pastors.

Like any other citizen, the clergyman has a right to his say in politics. And like anybody else he may add his profession to his name.

The jarring note comes in when personal partisanship combines with the pulpit for the purpose of electioneering.

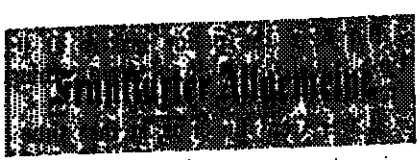
Ministers are ordained under church regulations. They are appointed to a parish by the *Land* division of their church. This is the only office under divine law known by the Lutheran creed.

God has established the office of preacher so that we should believe through his preaching the Word and administering the sacrament, says the 1530 Augsburg Confession.

Whenever the pastor speaks in his ordained capacity the believer must have the hope of hearing God's word.

It is therefore not only the Christian duty of the pastor to be available to all regardless of political affiliation, to impart confidence and be non-partisan; his authority to propagate the inalienable truth calls for circumspection in politics and for a voluntary curtailment of his rights as a citizen.

Thus being a clergyman is incompatible with electioneering. No matter how convincingly a minister says that when speaking on politics he does so as a citi-



zen rather than a man of God, dialectically untrained people find it hard to separate the man of the cloth from the citizen.

Such a differentiation becomes difficult for quite objective reasons. The churches have a political say: "We reject the wrong teachings as if there were areas in our lives in which we belong to masters other than Jesus Christ and in which we need no justification and sanctification through Him," says the Barmen Theological Declarationof 1934.

The Protestant Church still adheres to this Declaration from the Hitler era.

Faith imposes a political responsibility on Christians and does not leave their actions in society to chance. This tenet is one which all Protestant Churches have in common. They given considerable thought to the duties, rights and limitations of their political comments.

But the fact that the Protestants are agreed on principles does not mean that there are no differences of opinion as to what decision is correct in terms of Protestant responsibility.

And this obviously has its effect on the parishes. The sermon is not resricted to individual salvation but lays claim to a Christian's life in toto. As a result, the *minister cannot evade political issues*, and the Church would violate its function if it tried to stop the preacher.

He may not issue political directives in the name of faith; but he should whet the conscience of his parish to enable the individual parishioner to make his decisions according to his personal views.

In doing so, he must draw a line between his private political views and that which he says as an ordained minister.

But none of this can be enforced by the Church through supervision. It must trust its clergymen to do and say the right thing when it comes to politics. And it can trust them.

This has been borne out by the predominant attitude among West Germany's 15,000 Protestant clergymen.

The number of those who have given rise to complaints and who have overstepped the line between the teachings of the Church and their personal political views is small. But the further the individual minister departs from generally accepted political views the greater the attention he attracts and the annoyance he causes.

Doctors, academics, not so effective

Electioneering by clergymen has a greater effect than appeals signed by university professors or doctors.

The traditionally high esteem in which ministers are held has been perpetuated for centuries. They enjoy confidence even among those who have severed their ties with the Church because they are considered as people who are above petty interests.

Care for mankind as a whole is one of the reasons why individual ministers decide to shed their political restraint. This might be due to lack of insight, but it is also due to the sore remembrance of the fact that the Church has lost many toilers in the field during the past century.

Many a clergyman would like to ensure that this time the Church finds itself on the right side at the right time.

But where this mingling of Church and political duty can lead is evidenced by the envisaged additional runway for Frankfurt's airport.

The site, which belongs to the Airport Authority, has been occupied by squat-

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Church answers criticism by Chancellor Schmidt

It was unlikely that the churches would let the Chancellor's criticism of their attitude towards the state go unopposed. The Protestant Church was the first to rebut Helmut Schmidt's accusations.

Formally, this was easy. Unlike the Catholic Church, the Protestant Church lays no claim to "official or teaching authority" of which the chancellor accused both churches.

His contention that they had "still not embraced democracy in their hearts" was countered by the spokesman of the Protestant Church of Germany (EKD) who argued that the EKD itself practised parliamentary decision making processes within its organisation.

But the conflict actually goes deeper. Helmut Schmidt had criticised pacifist and neutralist tendencies. This was aimed above all at Protestant circles even though he did not mention them by name.

The Chancellor and some of his political friends seem to have become particularly allergic to such trends. Defence Minister Hans Apel recently expressed himself along similar lines.

The allergy is probably primarily due to growing resistance against Nato's modernisation decision.

Though it must be conceded that the government has to take the Alliance into account, this only partially weakens the arguments of the opponents of the decision.

It is therefore not particularly wise for the Chancellor to try and escape the dilemma by criticising the churches.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 1 April 1981)

Küng's day of silence

Hans Küng's big moment di[d] come when and where it wa[s] ... pected. The star of the day rema[ined] silent at the first national congr[ess of] the Committee for the Defen[ce of] Christian Rights that was found[ed in] the wake of his censure.

He listened quietly and atte[ntively] when, in a side wing of Würzburg's ... roque ducal residence, a group of Ca[tho]lic intellectuals pondered aloud a... freedom of the Christian.

This philosophical discourse, ... in by a paper of Tübingen theo[logian] Greinacher who employed some ... cuse's ideas to develop the term "... human rights", was more reminisc[ent of] a ceremonious meeting of acade[mics] than of a bunch of rebels who had ... ered to oppose the Church.

The consequences of this ... remained unclear. Greinacher ... abstractly of "conveying solid[arity]" knowing very well that this wa[s the] most modest objective in pr... terms.

It thus sounded rather unusual in ... circle when a young Würzburg ... took an intellectual swipe at the ... brains of the Committee (which ... no reaction) and called for "an ... different relationship among ... other."

This was a reference to a contr[oversy] tion: Greinacher had blamed a ... understood right to property for the ... that it was impossible for million[s of] people to exercise their right to ... the one hand while, on the othe[r] ... woman critic intimated, by his ... finition, his attitude and his life sty[le] ... was one of those "more equal" pe[ople] who are endowed with property.

The group around Greinacher i[s] ... removed from the radicalism of ... theologian Johann Baptist Metz, ... cently showed understanding for ... tionary violence and even defended it ... an expression of desperate love.

Metz, who at he time was only ... hearted in pillorying the censu[re of] Küng because he feared that this ... have meant supporting a "wrong ... geois theology", is therefore not ... enamoured of the committee.

Küng's silence might have ... prompted by his concern that an ... gical counterbalance to the bis[hops] could be formed here — bishops ... their decisions for the concrete ... the individual are ultimately no ... lonely than the Committee wi[th its] highflowing ruminations on the su[bject].

During the evening service in ... Mary's Church he unexpectedly too[k on] the role of shepherd and expressed ... joy over the many people who had ... to attend mass.

The recurring motive between ... lines was his own story, the dispute ... the bishops.

What mattered, he said, was not ... formance but "purely to preserve ... unshakeable faith in Him on whom ... rest." Ultimately, man is justified by ... faith.

Küng, who clearly speculated on ... sympathy of "simple" Christians, ... interpreted himself. More emphas[is] ... the Church must be placed on ... and less on lauding it. He said ... hear from the sermon whether a ... considered himself the servant ... flock or the lord of the parish.

Günter Hollen...

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 16 March ...)

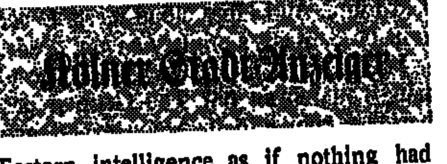
STATE SECURITY

Intelligence service celebrates 25 years of operation

The 25th anniversary this month of the Federal Intelligence Service (BND) somewhat coyly disguises the age of the organisation.

Unlike the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, which concerns itself with internal security, and unlike the Military Intelligence Service which does the spy catching for the Bundeswehr, the BND was founded before the Federal Republic of Germany. It is an offshoot of Hitler's intelligence organisation "Foreign Armies East". This origin could serve as an explanation as to why the problematic issue of any secret service in a democracy is particularly prominent in the BND.

The old Wehrmacht experts whom Major General Gehlen placed at the disposal of American intelligence services in 1945 simply continued their work in



Eastern intelligence as if nothing had happened.

It was not until 1949 that General Gehlen informed Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and other top politicians of the existence of a German intelligence agency, its background, concepts and activities.

It took another seven years before the "Gehlen organisation" which had operated as a German subsidiary of the CIA was placed under Bonn jurisdiction.

But even then there was the question: does a democratic country need such a secret service. Can it tolerate it?

The question has its root in the fear that, to be effective, spies frequently have to operate outside or against the law.

It is part and parcel of their profession that they have to spy on the citizen if suspicion exists. In doing so, they enjoy the special cover of secrecy without which they cannot operate.

This disastrous conflict between the law and practical intelligence work is evidenced by the insoluble problem of providing a legal basis for the BND which is in charge of "foreign intelligence".

No matter how formulated, any BND law would violate international law, which is based on the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other nations.

The most important activities of the BND — like those of any other organisation of its kind — boil down to constant circumvention and violation of the laws of foreign nations. Moreover, several errors by the BND have given rise to doubts as to the democratic principles and abidance by the Constitution of some of its members.

In 1961, when BND department head Heinz Felfe was unmasked as a Soviet spy, it also turned out that he had been an SS officer involved in Nazi crimes. But this had evidently not disqualified him from serving in the agency. To make matters worse, he was not the only BND man with such a past.

The BND shadowed SPD politicians and illegally became active in the Traube case. Moreover, it came under suspicion of having had its hand in illegal arms exports to crisis areas.

But with all these complications there can be no overlooking the fact that various people have tried to exploit the agency for their own purposes.

The CSU group at the Pullach headquarters of the BND which stayed in office after the conservative government was replaced could not have made headlines time and again had it not found ready takers for the secret information it was able to supply.

By the same token, Social Democratic efforts to "democratise" and "take over" the BND led to some remarkable failures because they confused a party card with professional skill.

But such a negative balance sheet fails to do justice to the BND.

The agency has always been successful — and this goes back to Gehlen's days — where its actual task is concerned. In fact, it has succeeded in planting its agents right in the inner circle of the GDR leadership.

Reform tendencies became obvious under Gehlen's successor, Wessel (1968—1978), and even more so under its current president, Kinkel, a confidant of Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Today, the BND no longer plays the role of a secret society which can do what it considers right with impunity. In fact, Kinkel expressly welcomes control by Parliament and the public.

This had not detracted from the agency's success.

The defection to West Germany last year with suitcases full of classified documents of GDR officer Werner Stiller ranks among the most spectacular of BND efforts.

Those who still find the work of the BND unpalatable and who are greatly concerned over the fact that the agency has expanded its activities to Third World countries that are important to the Federal Republic of Germany in economic terms must ask themselves whether we can actually forgo its services.

We could do so if all nations abided by international law. But they don't. As long as the world is not as it should be, a country like ours cannot withdraw from the merry-go-round of espionage and counterespionage without paying the price.

This being so, the BND stands a good chance of celebrating its golden anniversary in another 25 years.

Hans Werner Kettenbach

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 31 March 1981)

Continued from page 4

...ers who, together with members of a few nearby Protestant parishes, have erected a wooden structure and dubbed it a church. The trouble is that this "church" will have to be torn down before construction of the runway can begin.

A number of Protestant ministers now regularly preach in the "church".

But in doing so, they abuse the Gospel for the purpose of stopping government action by force.

Karl-Alfred Odin

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 March 1981)

Praise as Herold takes his leave of criminal branch

None of the circumstances that prompted Horst Herold to resign from the presidency of the Federal Bureau of Criminal Investigation (BKA) were in evidence at the farewell ceremony in Wiesbaden.

Even Interior Minister Gerhard Baum, whose relations with Herold had been strained, praised the departing president.

Herold had been this country's first policeman for nine years — years in which the cloud of terrorism hung over the country. The question that comes to mind in retrospect is: What would have happened without Herold and his BKA?

It was above all the computer sleuthing as developed by Herold that was instrumental in bringing the Baader-Meinhof group and its successor organisation to heel or preventing them from developing further.

Setbacks like the inability to save the kidnapped industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer was due to structural shortcomings and rivalry among the *Länder* rather than to BKA failure.

For a while there was widespread concern that eventually every German would find himself entrapped in Herold's data web. But most of these fears have proved unfounded and the totalitarian state as described by Hans Magnus Enzensberger failed to materialise.

Herold, a near genius, had one objective above all: he wanted to free crime



Horst Herold (Photo: dpa)

detection from human inadequacy. He wanted irrefutable evidence instead of uncertain statements by witnesses — and he searched for this evidence with all the means provided by modern technology.

The BKA will continue to make use of this amassed knowledge and technology which has become a must in modern crime fighting. There can be no way back to the stone age of sleuthing.

Ralf Lehmann

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 31 March 1981)

Boge takes over against backdrop of terrorism

The changing of the guard at the Federal Bureau of Criminal Investigation (BKA) took place against a backdrop of terrorist violence. Interior Minister Gerhart Baum's new man, Heinrich Boge, is no novice in this line of business. He has been catapulted to this office and is bound to benefit from the impressive work already done by his predecessor.

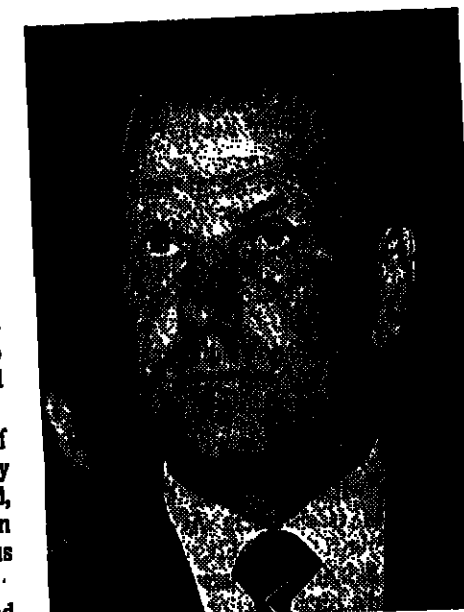
The presidency of the bureau entails more than police work; the head has to cooperate closely with politicians and gear his decisions to political exigencies.

In fact, the BKA is an integral part of politics. Yet it is an apolitical agency though this does not apply to its head, as borne out by the frequently open friction between Herold and the various interior ministers.

Bogé will take over the BKA endowed with the confidence of Baum who, in the past few months, has managed to keep the BKA out of the jurisdictional tug-of-war between Bonn and the *Länder*.

This has greatly calmed the situation and so provided the bureau with the scope of action it needs to operate successfully and and continue Herold's work of fighting terrorism from the right and the left with equal effectiveness. As the recent attacks on American installations in Gießen and Frankfurt show, violence is on the rise.

But even so, the police do not need the weapons with which some interior ministers of the *Länder* want to equip them and so turn them into a paramilitary unit.



Heinrich Boge (Photo: Sven Simon)

Under its new president, the BKA will have to see to it that such plans never enter the stage of serious discussion.

Boge's predecessor had demonstrated that this can be done. It is now up to the new man to pass the acid test.

Harbort Wegener

(Nordwest Zeitung, 31 March 1981)

■ ENERGY

Europe ready to finalise huge gas deal with Soviet Union

Most important European gas companies intend to conclude a second natural gas deal with the Soviet Union. The deal would be the world's biggest export contract ever concluded. Total annual supply (in addition to the 25 billion cubic metres now provided by the Soviet Union) would be 40 billion cubic metres (cbm). Investment would involve DM30bn, of which the buyer countries are to provide DM20bn in the form of credits. Largest buyer (12 billion cbm), lender (DM10bn) and supplier of pipes would be the Federal Republic of Germany. However the whole project has come under heavy criticism, mostly from the United States, which points to problems involving security and obligation.

If the deal materialises, some 40 cbm of natural gas a year will be flowing from the Soviet Union to the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Austria and Switzerland, starting from 1985.

Initially, the gas will come from fields already operating in Siberia and later from the Jamal Peninsula, in western Siberia.

A new pipeline extending over 5,400km to the western border of the Soviet Union will have to be built. The material and equipment to be supplied by the West will cost DM20bn.

Along the patterns of the first gas deal with the Soviet Union, that country will use credits from the buyer nations which will be repaid gradually by the gas provided.

Details of the package are still being negotiated between the Soviets on the one hand and Western gas companies, bankers and pipe-and-compressor manufacturers on the other.

The hitch until recently was the price, but foreign policy makers are now increasingly putting new stumbling blocks in the way of the negotiators.

The Reagan Administration in Washington has voiced its concern that the deal would make Western Europe so dependent on the Soviet Union as to narrow its political scope of action and make it vulnerable to extortion.

This, Washington says, applies particularly to the Federal Republic of Germany where the Soviet Union already accounts for 17 per cent of natural gas supplies (or 3 per cent of total primary energy consumption).

Another 15 per cent comes from the Norwegian North Sea, 37 per cent from Holland and 31 per cent is produced domestically.

The new deal would increase the share of Soviet gas to some 30 per cent in the 1980s (or 5.5 per cent of Germany's total primary energy consumption).

But neither politicians nor the business community are fazed by the prospect of using more Russian gas. On the contrary.

The Bonn government has given the green light for the negotiations to proceed. Mannesmann and, in its wake, Hoesch, Salzgitter and AEG-Kanis are already preparing to provide the pipes and compressors.

At Mannesmann alone, some 2,500 jobs hinge on the deal, says board member Günter Mausbach.

The German gas companies also have no reservations about the deal.

Along with the other German gas companies (Gelsenberg AG, Gewerkschaften Brigitta und Elwerath, Thyssen Gas and Salzgitter Ferngas) Ruhrgas AG (the world's biggest natural gas importer) chairman Klaus Liesen considers the deal acceptable and the lesser evil in supply and security policy terms.

Absolute supply security in the energy sector, Herr Liesen holds, can only be achieved if we could depend entirely on domestic resources — and this is utopian for Germany.

Unlike the United States and Canada which have ample domestic resources and are largely independent of imports, the Federal Republic of Germany depends on imports for two-thirds of its requirements.

What matters for us, Liesen says, is to increase our relative energy supply security by diversifying the types and sources of imported energy along the lines of the Bonn government programme.

Ruhrgas AG, for instance, buys its gas from Holland, Britain, Norway, Algeria, Iran, Nigeria and the Soviet Union. Mexico, Latin America and the Persian Gulf might to included later.

But some of the existing or anticipated contracts have become doubtful:

- The tripartite deal in which Iran was supposed to have supplied 6 billion cbm a year, to be piped via the Soviet Union, has had to be shelved.
- The Algeria deals (involving 15 billion cbm a year for Germany) have to be renegotiated because the state-owned Algerian Sonatrach Co. now no longer wants to provide the gas in liquid form but through an underwater pipeline via Italy.
- The Nigeria project (2.5 billion cbm a year) has been considerably delayed as evidenced by the new Five Year Plan.

This pretty much exhausts the possibilities of buying natural gas from abroad.

But what are the alternatives? Says Klaus Liesen: "If the gas deal with the Soviet Union fails we would have to make up for it through other forms of energy."

It is obvious that this cannot mean local resources. German coal production has been booked for years to come, and nuclear energy is being developed as much as political and technical possibilities permit.

If German consumers were to be provided with an alternative to the heat (through district heating plants) generated by the annual 12 billion cbm of Soviet gas we would have to build an additional 11 nuclear power stations of the Biblis type at a cost of about DM55bn. And anyone who is aware of the nuclear energy dispute in this country knows how idle it is even to contemplate the construction of these additional nuclear power stations.

The only way out of the dilemma would be to import more oil. But here we are already much more dependent on foreign suppliers than in the case of gas.

While 83 per cent of the gas used in Germany now comes from West European countries, for oil this figure is barely 20 per cent.

Most of the oil that would have to be imported to offset any non-delivery of Soviet gas would have to come from the Opec countries.

And what that means in terms of supply security is shown by Iran, Iraq and Libya. And Libya alone meets 6 per cent of Germany's primary energy needs.

Is Soviet gas in any way more uncertain than Libyan oil? The German gas business points to the good experience it has had so far with Russia.

From 1973 through 1980, the Soviets supplied Western Europe with 105 billion cbm of natural gas, of which Ruhrgas (the only German importer of Soviet gas) bought 42 billion cbm. In 1980 alone, some 10 billion cbm of Soviet gas went to Ruhrgas.

The Russians have recently figured out that, in line with the contract they have with Ruhrgas, that company will have bought Soviet gas to the tune of some 200 billion cbm by the year 2000.

Supply and financing have gone off without a hitch so far — even in times of political tension.

As a result, the German business community expects no supply problems for political reasons.

The most important reason for this is that the new gas deal with the Soviets — like its predecessor - benefits the Soviet Union more than its Western buyers.

Since, under the present terms, the investment would be repaid in about four years, the Soviet Union would thereafter have huge foreign exchange revenues (some DM8bn a year given a price of 20 pfennigs per cbm) for many years to come — revenues it sorely needs.

Another security factor against Soviet political pressure — or so the German gas companies see it — lies in the fact that the new pipeline would provide not only the Germans but other European buyers as well. Should the Russians turn off the tap the whole of Western Europe would come under pressure.

But even a total shut-off of Soviet supplies for political reasons would not be dramatic, says Liesen, because of the European grid, underground storage capacities and supply contracts with power stations and industrial enterpri[ses]. Households and small commer[cial] users would not be affected if the [Rus]sians turned off the tap.

The quantities of natural gas t[hat] Germany can actually do without [are] larger than current gas purchases fr[om] the Soviet Union. And this will incr[ease] still further.

Even once Germany starts buying [ad]ditional Russian gas in the second h[alf] of the 1980s, the switch-off vol[ume] would still be two-thirds of the an[nual] quantity of gas supplied by the So[viet] Union. The remaining third could [be] coped with through the various ins[tru]ments available to the gas business.

Unless negotiations are delayed by [the] politicians, the European-Soviet d[eal] could be signed, sealed and delivere[d by] the middle of this year.

The one open question is the pri[ce. If] the Russians had their way, they wo[uld] get the highest price for their gas, [pay] the lowest price for the pipes and g[et a] whacking rebate on the interest rate.

Right now the dispute revolves aro[und] the interest rate for the DM20bn cr[edit] to be granted by a German bank[ing] consortium headed by Deutsche Bank.

The Russians have set their limi[t at] 7.75 per cent and seem unwilling [to] budge while the German bankers as[k no] less than 9.75 per cent.

The difference would have to be ma[de] up for in some other area (perhaps [a] lower gas price or a higher pipe price).

This would be in no way unus[ual] since just about every other deal w[ith] the East is "cooked" in one way [or] another, experts say.

But the compromise has not mate[rial]ised because some of the German b[anks] in the consortium refuse to go along.

This makes new negotiations [all the] more necessary as interest rates i[n this] country have risen still further — a [fac]tor that doesn't help.

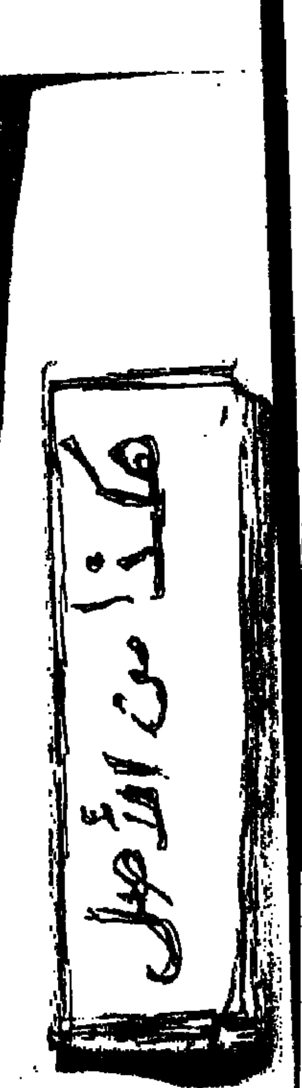
The German businessmen involv[ed] are agreed that it will only materiali[se if] the package as a whole (gas purc[hases,] supply of pipes and credits) proves fe[as]ible.

The deal should be subsidised by nei[th]er the German taxpayer nor the bu[siness] nor the consumer — at least not bey[ond] world market conditions.

Norbert Welt[er]

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 25 March 19[81])

Natural gas from Russia to Western Europe



THE HANOVER FAIR

From a small beginning to an international meeting place

[Th]e Hanover Trade Fair has gained [...] almost legendary international [rep]utation in its more than three de[cades].

[Wh]at lends it the most lustre is its [func]tion as a meeting place for busi[ness]men from all continents — some[thing] no other trade fair can claim to [the] same extent. According to Claus [...], chairman of the organisers, [Messe-] *und Ausstellungs AG*, the Han[over] Fair has no real competitor nor [can] it be copied as a central market [place] for capital and consumer goods.

[H]annover is indeed the flagship of in[ter]national fairs as a whole; so it is not [sur]prising that it is generally regarded as [a] barometer of the world economy.

[Wh]en the fair started, the intention was [cer]tainly not to make it the hub of in[ter]national business once a year.

In fact it was not the Hanover city [fa]thers' intention to add a further attrac[tion] to a city so rich in tradition. What [the]y wanted was to save a few manufac[tur]ing facilities just outside city precincts [fro]m being dismantled and subsequently [to]rn up.

The *Deutsche Messe- und Ausstel[lun]gs AG* (German Fair and Exhibition [Cor]poration) was founded on 5 August [19]47 on the instructions of the British [Oc]cupation Forces which had long [sear]ched for a suitable fair site in West [Ger]many. The idea was to get exports in [this] *region off the* ground again.

[Bu]t as a city without any trade fair [tradi]tion its city fathers were reluctant [to g]o along when representatives of the [Hig]h Commission approached them and [Lo]wer Saxony's Economic Affairs Min[is]ter Alfred Kubel.

They were finally swayed by an ulteri[or] motive: in Laatzen, just outside the [city], there was an aluminium plant [whi]ch the Allied powers had earmarked [for] dismantling and demolition.

In the end, the High Commission [wen]t along with the suggestion that the [plan]t be used to house the fair, thus [savin]g it from demolition. Incidentally, [the] fair was not intended as an annual [even]t but as a one-shot deal.

[Bu]t things did not develop as origi[nall]y planned, and the Hanover Fair [beca]me an unique fixture.

A container to transport and store spent radioactive fuel rods has been developed by Thyssen. The fully-laden weight of the container, which is being exhibited at the Hanover Fair, is 115 tonnes. (Photos: dpa)

But how does such a mammoth fair function? The whole thing is controlled and kept going by the seemingly confusing cogwheels of the *Messe- und Ausstellungs AG* with its permanent staff of 420 and numerous occasional helpers.

As a business visibly operating only a couple of weeks a year, such an enterprise can only function with a large number of dependable part-time workers of whom 600 are employed during the fair.

The subsidiaries of the organisers, such as restaurants, parking lots etc., employ another 1,400 people. And there is one million square metres of parking space.

Many of its many tasks are delegated to sub-contractors who employ another 5,500 people. Among the most important of these additional jobs are the cleaning staff of some 2,200; 1,300 in the catering businesses that are not directly part of the fair; 700 guards and ticket collectors; and 500 freight forwarding helpers.

Of course, the Hanover city authorities also contribute their part. Some 1,400 officials are directly connected with the fair, augmented by close to 1,000 police officers. A customs post has a staff of 30, and the fair Post Office is manned by 175. There are even bailiffs and judges made available specially for the occasion.

Another 40,000 people are employed at the individual booths and service organisations at the fairgrounds, meaning that some 50,000 jobs are provided while the fair is on. This corresponds to the population of Goslar.

But the *Messe- und Ausstellungs AG* is not only an important employer. It is also a major buyer of goods and services, ordering an annual average of DM55m worth of goods and services from some 1,000 firms.

In addition, it consumes DM5m worth of energy, spends DM5m for cleaning, DM1m for security services and DM4m for postage and telephone bills.

But there is yet another group of people who profit from the fair: individuals who rent rooms.

According to reliable estimates, overnight stays in private homes during the fair are in the region of 50,000 funnelling DM15m into private households.

Naturally, the fair also has its effects on city planning. During rush hours, the access system copes with 50,000 vehicles and so do the parking lots in the fairgrounds.

Fortunately, not all visitors come by car. Many use trains — and rightly so, because Hanover has Europe's largest and most modern railroad station.

During the eight days of the fair in early April, the one-million-square-metre fairground accomodates a daily half million visitors from all parts of the world.

Of the one million square metres, 705,000 is available as pure exhibition space, of which 464,000 is indoors in 22 halls. A 23rd hall is being built. The total investment programme for 1979 to 1983 is DM195m.

But in view of the increasingly tough competition in the fair business such investments are needed if Hanover is to retain its place at the top of the list.

Hartmut Volk

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 19 March 1981)



[...] scientists have developed this coding machine which produces up to 60 [...] characters a minute using a normal Western typewriter. The text can then be [trans]mitted using the typewriter in the same way as a telex machine would function. [The] system, produced by Olympia, was on show at the Hanover Fair.

Warning on pessimism

Businessmen have been urged not to fall into a slough of despair because of the economic outlook. Speaking at the opening of the Hanover Trade Fair, Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff appealed to representatives of commerce to use all their resources to counter world business problems. They should be ready to increase investment and step up the export drive.

This year's Hanover Fair — which its organisers have dubbed the "inimitable top event of international business" — will find the going harder than in the past two years.

This is due to several elements, among them the overall political situation (especially the events in Poland), uncertainty about the outcome of this year's collective bargaining and, of course, the general decline in the capital goods business.

In the past two years, the fair benefited primarily from the inclination among businessmen — above all Germans — to invest in capital goods.

But this year will see a 4 per cent drop in investments in equipment and a 4.5 to 5 per cent decline in construction investment.

Nowhere in Europe do economists anticipate a rise in investments. In fact, across the board EEC investments are expected to drop by at least 2.4 per cent.

But hopes are now being pinned on increased demand from the United States and the Opec countries.

In keeping with this bleak picture, electrical engineering, the largest group of exhibitors in Hanover, expects 1981 production to stagnate and mechanical engineering, which will show only part of its wide range, anticipates a production drop of four per cent (adjusted for inflation.

Only the office equipment and electronic data processing sectors, which are particularly important for Hanover and which could take on the role of an economic barometer, anticipate continued, though less steep, growth.

Unlike the largely bleak economic picture, the participation in this year's fair with its 5,250 exhibitors is better than in any other year since 1973. But at that time the wood processing machinery business, which now has its separate fair, exhibited in Hanover.

Though much of this is attributable to the dynamic office equipment and date processing businesses with their large space requirements at the fair, the Hanover show, which showed signs of decline, is once more exerting a great attraction.

This is evidenced by the dispute with the construction machinery business which seems to fear that Hanover could recapture its former important position in this sector which it had lost to the Munich Construction Equipment Fair "Bauma".

The idea of presenting the "threshold countries" as a group in Hanover has evidently been successful, as borne out by Brazil.

Another idea that deserves to come to fruition is that of a special programme for young people, instead of just channelling them through the fairgrounds. After all, our future depends on their willingness to accept and develop further the technology on display in Hanover.

Bernd von Stumpfeldt

(Handelsblatt, 31 March 1981)

MOTORING

Small-town commuter hardest hit by increase in petrol price




German car drivers will long remember April 1, 1981 — the day the mineral oil tax increase came into force, with petrol going up eight pfennigs per litre.

Up to now, the wicked oil companies have always been to blame for the endless series of oil price increases, spoiling the German's delight in his dearest child, the car.

This time it is the state putting on the oil screws — and perhaps making the car a luxury for many Germans.

The car driver is being asked to fill the huge gap in the Bonn government's coffers; this year the government will bleed him of about DM 1.76bn. And next year it will rise to a staggering DM 2.7bn.

However, Bonn is clearly trying to kill two birds with one stone. Car drivers are not only expected to help restore the state's ailing finances to health. They are also being forced to save more petrol. And the best way to do this is via prices.

From the energy policy viewpoint, this government argument is reasonable. West Germany has no appreciable oil sources, nor has it yet developed alternative sources of energy. To prevent increasingly large amounts of gross national product leaving the country to pay for oil, Germany must reduce its dependence as quickly as possible.

Despite these arguments the average car driver is understandably outraged at the increase, which will hit hardest the commuter in small towns and villages not well served by buses or trains.

If cars were primarily used for weekend outings, there would be little to be said against the increase. However it is unsocial and unjust to enforce a change in oil consumption habits among those drivers who simply cannot use alternative means of transport.

Clearly there is a need to save energy, but not at any price. Social justice cannot simply be swept under the carpet in the process.

The oil tax increase has of course got the car drivers' lobby up in arms. The German Automobile Association has called for a doubling of tax relief to 72 pfennigs per kilometre for all drivers. However, this demand ignores energy policy requirements.

Apart from the fact that doubling tax relief would cost the treasury about DM 3bn (far more than the oil tax rise brings in in added revenue), the politically desirable saving effect would also be destroyed.

Why should drivers save petrol, when the Minister of Finance then turns round and, so to speak, subsidises higher petrol prices by generous tax concessions? The rise in mineral oil tax would then be a waste of time.

For the same reason the more modest CDU demand that tax relief should go up to 50 pfennigs per kilometre must also be rejected. It would cost the government DM 1.2bn.

SPD MP Horst Gobrecht has put forward a proposal which could reduce petrol consumption and at the same time avoid the social injustices. He wants tax relief raised to 50 pfennigs per kilometre for commuters who have to travel long distances to work. This would only cost the government DM 100m, and the pressure of higher petrol prices would not be reduced.

However, it remains to be seen whether different rates of tax relief for car drivers are practicable.

To encourage reduced consumption even further, Bonn is seriously considering abolishing road tax and incorporating it in mineral oil tax. The proposal seems logical at first sight. It would mean that at last foreigners would have to pay their bit towards the financing of the German road network.

This would be all the more justifiable in view of the fact that German drivers have to pay tolls for using motorways in other European countries, whereas foreigners can drive on German motorways completely free of charge.

Perfect answer hard to formulate

But there is a snag with the abolition of road tax. Again, the long-distance commuter would suffer. And again righteous anger would seek outlets.

Here, too, the Bonn government would have to compensate the commuter. This is complicated, but on the other hand social justice is not cheap.

Carola Böse-Fischer

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 31 March 1981)

Plans unveiled for sharing the drive to work

Rising petrol prices have not stopped people using their cars to get to work: 43 per cent of all West Germans do.

The monthly cost comes to an average of DM108, according to a representative poll by the Sampel Institute in December and January. People who car-share paid only slightly less than this, DM 104.

The Institute believes that the small difference between the two figures is due to the fact that car-sharing only happens when the distances between home and work are considerable — i.e. when overall costs are well above average.

Fifty five per cent of those asked said they would not car-share. The main reasons were the probable inconvenience and dependence on others.

Nonetheless, the Rhineland Countryside Association (LVR) is planning to build 47 parking places for car-sharing groups near motorway entrance points.

This programme, aimed at helping the environment, was explained at an LVR press conference. The LVR hopes that these spaces will help reduce traffic jams, lack of parking space, oil consumption, noise and fume pollution in the cities. It says it is better for one car with four or five passengers to drive to town than four or cars each with only one passenger.

Car-sharing schemes have been set up in various parts of the Rhineland in recent years. Car drivers would, under the new plan, leave their cars at points near motorway junctions and drive on to work in other cars. The LVR decided to do something to alleviate the problem of illegal parking at these points.

A spokesman said his organisation wished to support these schemes by providing parking facilities at favourable traffic points. The LRV would be building parking spaces where there were no convenient parking facilities near motorways. Facilities would harmonises with the landscape. The entire building programme will cost DM 5.17m.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 31 March 1981)

Record number of foreign vehicles bought

Foreign cars are enjoying increasing popularity in West Germany. In January and February of this year, the number of new foreign cars reached the all-time record of 29 per cent.

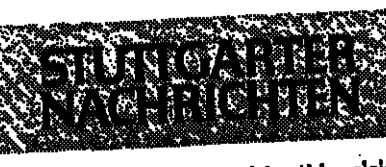
The National Automobile Statistics Office in Flensburg registered 369,000 foreign cars, of which 107,000 came from abroad. The Japanese had the largest slice of the foreign car cake with 11,4 per cent.

The most popular West German models were VW Golf (18,000 sold), Opel Kadett (17,000), Audi 80 (10,000) and Ford Escort (9,000).

Only Ford managed to increase their sales appreciably. All Japanese carmakers except Honda — who had a slight drop — improved their figures.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 30 March 1981)

Boost in diesel-engine car sales justifies Daimler-Benz production policy



Sales of diesel-powered cars have given the German car industry a shot in the arm.

Figures issued by the German Car Industry Association show that the run on diesel cars began last autumn, when the price of petrol rose steeply.

The trend has now been consolidated by the mineral oil tax increase which put petrol up 8 pfennigs a litre but diesel fuel by only 3.5 pfennigs.

The change has justified the policy of Daimler-Benz. Its emphasis on diesel production has come under criticism at annual meetings.

Half the company's sales are now of diesel vehicles.

In another optimistic observation, the Munich Ifo institute predicts an upswing for the entire German car industry from now on.

Also, figures show that in recent months Japanese cars have not been able to increase their share of the market.

As a result, some manufacturers are finding it difficult to meet delivery dates: 40 per cent of VW Golfs are now diesel-fuelled and Volkswagen is hard pushed to keep up with this rising trend.

VW has admitted somewhat sheepishly that adaptation measures have been necessary. This has affected suppliers and foreign subsidiaries.

One VW manager explained the problem by saying that it was impossible to legislate for such sudden changes in purchasers' behaviour.

It fact, VW had taken a considerable rise in diesel demand into account in its planning, but it had not reckoned with such a spectacular development.

Diesel-fuelled cars cost on average DM 1,000 more than conventional models, but this does not seem to deter purchasers.

Spring trends also show an unmistakable concentration of demand for small and medium class cars of up to 1.6 litres. The 1.6–2 litre class is struggling in comparison, though Ford and Opel have made big efforts to remain attractive in price and range. Purchases of very expensive limousines remain stable. Many of then are of course business cars, mainly BMW and Mercedes.

Japanese share of the German market hovers at around 11 per cent. In the past few months they have had to reduce prices in three phases by up to 12 per cent to compensate for the increased value of the yen.

This is a reversal of the previous exchange rate advantage. The inexorable march of the Japanese is therefore not going to take place. Nonetheless, the Japanese are going to increase their market share slightly this year — to between 12 and 13 per cent.

In the long term there are clear signs of market saturation, as there are now almost 400 cars to every 1,000 people. Given these levels, substitute requirements become more important.

Meeting these requirements and reducing the average overall age of the car total are likely to have more influence on business than energy costs and the way the economy develops.

Bolke Behrens

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 27 March 1981)

■ THE ARTS

New gallery shows its mink coat luxury

Hannoversche Allgemeine

The *Neue Pinakothek* Art Gallery in Munich took four and a half years to build and cost DM100m.

One visitor described it as "pretty", and said it reminded him of Landshut. Then he drove once again around the new building, impressed by the round-arched mullion windows and the stairs on the high sandstone walls which make the building look rather like a castle.

And the *Neue Pinakothek* is an impressive piece of work, as even non-Bavarians will agree. This museum of 19th century art is in Theresienstrasse, opposite the *Alte Pinakothek* which was built by Leo von Klenze between 1826 and 1836.

The new building is on the site of another famous museum — the first *Neue Pinakothek*, built in 1853, bombed in the Second World War and finally demolished in 1949. It was built for art connoisseur Ludwig I of Bavaria, who financed it from his own purse.

In 1966, the Land of Bavaria announced that a competition would be held for the best design for the *Neue Pinakothek*. The intention was that the new building should house the now extended collection of 19th century art, the State Gallery of Modern Art and the State Graphic Collection.

Modern art, however, remained in the *Haus der Kunst* and this has been and indeed remains a bone of contention in Munich cultural policy.

A reorientation in the seventies clearly favoured the administrative side: the directors of the Bavarian State Collection were to move into the 19th century museum, along with the central restoration workshops for the state museums, the Doerner Institute of Restoration and the study of works of art and the Museum Educational Centre.

What was originally meant to be just a museum became a combination of museum and administrative centre, with one area as a north facing steel and concrete construction in which the towering glass roofs form an imposing constructed landscape.

The two-storey administrative tract, with its semi-columns and mullioned windows, strives in the opposite direction, which has its embarassing features.

A broad entrance, gently leading to a glass wall accentuated by pillars and exactly opposite the entrance to the *Alte Pinakothek*, joins the two areas.

This is a major change from the previous architectural concept. Munich architect Alexander von Branca, who won the first prize in 1966 competition, has made this change. And he has done more. His discontent with our era and its functional architecture, his strong dislike of "material functionalism" in which "human beings are also machines" made him change his concept, giving it more human features.

In his efforts to avoid formal, functional non-committedness, von Branca lapsed into other non-committed forms, often precious, strangely historicising, "post-modern" forms such as the above-mentioned staircases, they bay windows, mullion windows and copper roofs of the office tract.

After a first walk around the *Neue Pinakothek* it can be said that the building functions perfectly, right down to the most hidden video screen: a technically highly modern building costing DM104m and covering about 22,800 square metres.

But it is also a building which indulges in absurd formal details and sometimes incomprehensible alienations. And also a museum that — because its designer has an insuperable repugnance for concrete, steel and all external technology — is undoubtedly the poshest of German museums.

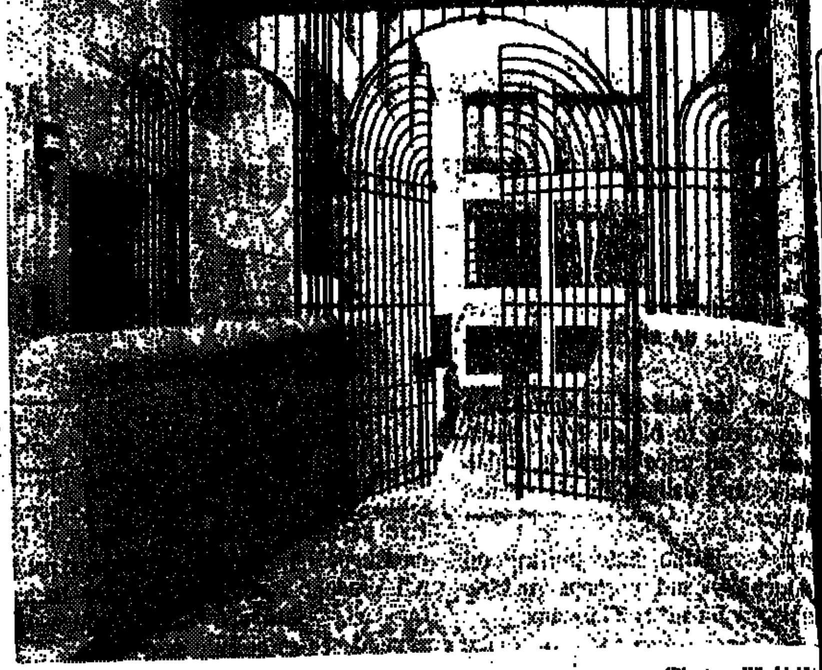
Here we have a superb example of the Munich sense of expensive representation: discreetly, solidly and soberly disguising the squalor of technical devices, and so inviting in its elegance that one is almost tempted to make wearing mink compulsory for visitors.

Branca has hidden 25,000 cubic metres of concrete and 2,500 tonnes of steel behind noble sandstone and granite. He has put down choice parquet floors in the offices and the gallery and flooded the ground floor with glittering white marble — which does very little optically for the drawings in the graphic section.

Luxury is everywhere. In the restaurant, where dark red and green, the salon colours of the 19th century, dominate in modernised form, and in the library, which is completely of mahagony.

Luxury becomes unpleasant pomp in the broad entrance hall of the mjseum — a room completely dominated by sandstone.

Compared with the dimensions of the giant room, it is a comparatively small door which leads to the treasures of the collection — and the everything changes.



The Neue Pinakothek from outside . . .

(Photos: Winfried R...

The rigid architecture of the foyer opens out into a series of large rooms with smaller side-room.

Visitors walk through high, elegant rooms, with the direction changing frequently and confusingly, as in a labyrinth.

The rooms are designed approximately in the shape of a figure eight, around two inner courtyards. The walk takes one to the gallery of the hall, from where one goes down into the foyer again. The system of graduation brings excitement into the sequence of rooms — a juxtaposition of rooms which radiate classical harmony; a conception of space which is a kind of homage to Leo von Klenze and lighting as in the *Alte Pinakothek*.

The glass rooves in the vaulted ceilings — overarched by a perfectly shaped glass-roof construction — cast exceptionally fine, clear, almost shadowless light.

Branca's return to filtered daylight is a rejection of all contemporary museum experiments — as for example the Hanover Sprengel Collection, where the preference in many areas is for artificial light. So this is no art bunker. The walls are clear and bright, hung will grey, grey-green, blue and matt dark green silk — a highly elegant backcloth. Those looking out of the classical coolness of these rooms will immediately be struck by the strong and certainly alienating contrast in Branca's concept: two ramps run between the museum rooms and the two inner courtyards — for wheelchairs and for internal museum transport. At the moment they are empty spaces of martial aspect — a brutal contrast to the aestheticism of the rest of the museum. Now for a look at the collection itself, which must of course be fragmentary and is only intended as an appetiser. It consists of about 500 paintings and 20 sculptures. The ma... storerooms contain a further 4,000 ... tings.

. . . and from inside.

The nineteenth century art in ... museum is mainly German art: Ge... romanticism, Biedermeier, realism, ... especially the work of the Nazarenes.

Ludwig's admiration of Italy is al... flected in the museum. Overbeck's ... *and Germania* is one of the wo... which the *Neue Pinakothek* is prou...

Around 1900, museum director H... von Tschudi extended the rang... buying major works of non-Germa... Further important additions to the ... lection were also made at the end ... Second World War. The works dis... cover a period of abour 200 years, ... the end of the 18th century a... beginning of the 20th.

Among the outstanding works ... show are portraits of ladies by G... works by Gainsborough and ... German romanticism as represen... Caspar David Friedrich, Dahl and ... ing.

There is an impressive display of ... torical paintings from the mid-... teenth century — Kaulbach and ... — and a series of oil sketches for ... frescoes of the first *Neue Pinakothek* ... which Kaulbach glorified and iron... described the life of Munich artists.

Tho work of German landscape p... ters is represented (Rottmann, K... plus Böcklin, Feuerbach, Stuck and ... von Marées as well as French p... Géricault, Delacroix, Courbet, Da... Daubigny, Manet, Monet, van Gogh...

Thirty three paintings from the G... Schäfer collection are housed in a ... to themselves and complement the ... lection. It is a collection of ... harmony in which the 19th century ... presented as clam and contentedly ... tiful, with the political, social and ... nomic upheavals of the time at a ... and almost imperceptible distance.

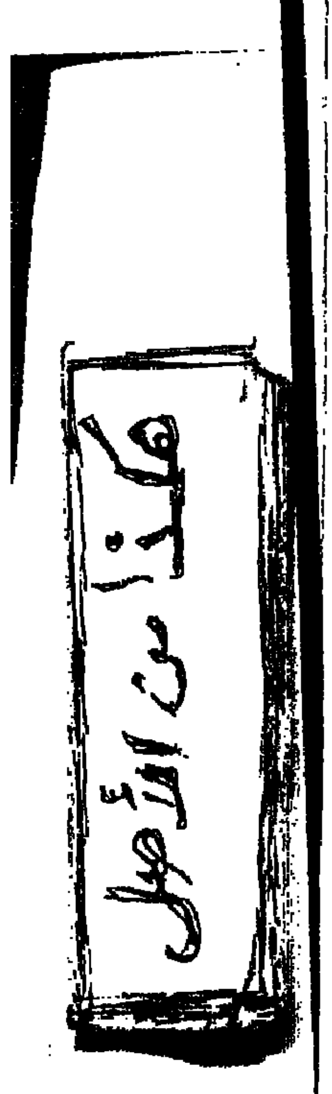
These paintings are, how... contrasted with a few works which ... ly bear the less calm and elegant ... of their time.

A problematic design, a noble int... a magnificent collection which will ... the wishes of its founder, Ludwig I. ... works of the statesman will soon ... faded from view, but those of the ... artists live on."

Visitors who want information ... the exhibits are strongly advised to ... the museum catalogues, as the paint... themselves bear only the year of ... the artist's name and the title.

Ursula ...

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 28 March ...)



HEALTH

Body's immunising mechanism lethal when it makes a mistake

Millions of bacteria and viruses penetrate our bodies every day. But practically all are intercepted and eliminated by the body's immunising system before they can do any damage.

This immunising system is a vital defence. But it can become lethal when it turns in error against body structures.

One example of this is myasthenia gravis, the symptoms of which are extreme muscle exhaustion. It can lead to the complete breakdown of the respiratory muscles and death by suffocation.

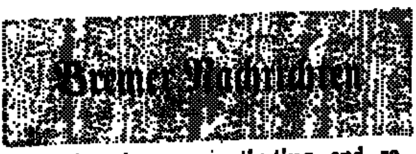
Scientists at the Max Planck Institute of Immune Biology in Freiburg have now put together a complete picture of how this illness comes about.

The most important instruments in our immune system are lymphocytes, or white blood corpuscles. There are almost a billion of these all over our bodies. Their task is to recognise extraneous material such as bacteria and viruses and to combat it together with other cells in the immunising system. Lymphocytes are highly specialised, each one combating only one particular antigene or enemy. To give complete protection, the immunising system must have the appropriate lymphocyte for every conceivable antigene. It is estimated that there are about a million lymphocytes each of which combats its particular biological "enemy".

Professor Helmut Wekerle of the Freiburg Institute explained that despite its wide range the immunising system should only react against extraneous material, not against body structures.

Today we know that every immune reaction also involves repressor cells, which counter the effects of the purely aggressive lymphocytes.

They ensure that the immunising reaction does not go too far. Every immunising reaction is a finely-balanced



interaction between activating and repressive forces.

Myasthenia gravis became more widely known some years ago when it killed Greek shipowner Aristotle Onassis.

Wekerle explained that the immediate cause of muscle weakness was a breakdown in signal transmission at the contact points between nerves and muscles. Here, nerve commands are transmitted to the muscles by a substance called azetylcholin.

Special reception structures have been formed to deal with these chemical messages — so-called azetylcholin receivers — and precisely these structures are attacked and destroyed. This means that the flow of signals between nerves and muscles is prevented and finally completely blocked.

It was easy enough to establish the connection between muscle weakness and the lymphocyte attack on the azetylcholin receivers, but this did not explain another symptom, the growth or proliferation of the thymus gland.

Here, an accident helped the Freiburg scientists. They had been using thymus cell cultures from mice for a completely different purpose.

And after some time they were suprised to find that ordinary muscle cells were growing on these cultures.

Wekerle explained that the thymus obviously contains predecessor or basic cells at a corresponding signal, "though it is not clear what these cells are doing in the thymus."

The formation of these cells in the thymus can be regarded as the first step in the disease. It results in the previously inexplicable proliferation or abnormal growth of the thymus tissue. But a second step is decisive. Many lymphocytes wrongly react to azetylcholin receivers as if they were antigenes.

This may be because while the receivers are not hostile they are in a strange place. Perhaps it is the too early contact with them that triggers off the hostile lymphocytic response.

The third step is the final outbreak of the disease. The self-destructive lymphocytes return to the rest of the body, where they come into contact with azetylcholin receivers of real muscles. There is an auto-immune reaction and the supposed antigenes are attacked and destroyed.

It was still not understood how the lymphocytes work: they attack the azetylcholin receivers direct or merely control the process.

One of Wekerle's colleagues, Dr Reinhard Hohlfeld, solved this problem in experiments on rats. He cultivated lymphocytes, and injected them into rats, causing myastenia gravis. However, if the rats' system had previously been destroyed, nothing happened. This means that lymphocytes are not active themselves but merely have a controlling function. The scientists hope in the course of further experiments to find out more about the reticular interaction of destroyer cells, controlling cells and repressive cells.

Wekerle explained that treatment of auto-immune diseases would only be possible when this interaction was completely understood. The present method of treatment is to weaken the entire system, either by drugs or by radiation.

This steamroller treatment not only weakens the body's defence against real antigenes. It can even make an existing auto-immune disease worse if it affects repressor cells which are not functioning strongly enough.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 26 March 1981)

A nocturnal menace

One in four Germans has dist[...] sleep because of noise, accordi[...] a poll. Noise from outside, mostly t[...]ic, was the main culprit.

Had the survey taken into [...] noise inside the home, the inciden[...] sleeplessness would probably have [...] far higher.

The conclusion might well have [...] that one of the main causes of ins[...] or poor sleep comes from either [...] sleeper himself or herself, or the p[...]

An article by throat, nose and ea[...] cialist Maximilian Bajog in Ärzt[...] *Praxis* says that doctors should take [...] factor into account before prescri[...] sleeping tablets for insomnia.

It is not only the different m[...] ments to get into the best position [...] sleep which can annoy the partner; [...] sleeper also produces noise which [...] disturb him. This can become so [...] treme that for instance a snorer [...] sleep deeply — and may indeed e[...] wake himself up — because of [...] noises he makes.

Some people have to get up to [...] the toilet at night, others talk in [...] sleep. As our perceptory organs — [...] just the ear — react automatically [...] we are asleep, bedroom noise, which [...] from ourselves or other, disturb [...] sleep.

We are all familiar with how an[...] ing a dripping water tap can be. [...] noise of a tap or of other natural [...] is lower that caused by someone ch[...] ing position in bed. Human sleep[...] noise range from 30 to 50 decibels. The[...] are not constant noises, which [...] demonstrably be harmful to health [...] the other hand, there is no such [...] as complete adjustment to noise, [...] even in sleep. Bajog believes it is p[...] able that the sleeping habits of the p[...] ner can be a permanent problem, [...] pecially in a double bed. He says t[...] even noises which do not cross [...] waking threshold can cause a superfi[...] scarcely recuperative sleep. When p[...] nors do not go to bed at the same ti[...] — as is the case with policemen, [...] waymen, catering workers and doctors [...] or even when there is only a slight [...] ference in the time they go to bed, [...] turbances including even waking up [...] partner are "programmed."

The understandable wish not to [...] turb the partner can often lead to e[...] sive efforts of the will and force the p[...] ner into uncomfortable positions w[...] no one can sustain for long. Here [...] find confirmation of the familiar p[...] chotherapeutic law whereby efforts [...] will often have the opposite of the [...] sired effects.

This means that those who [...] themselves to rest only become [...] more restive. Those who have to [...] themselves to sleep do not sleep — [...] least do not sleep well.

Bajog said that all these prob[...] could be avoided if partners abando[...] the practise of sleeping in a double [...] and returned to the four poster bed [...] tem of previous centuries. Ideally [...] bed would be completely curta[...] round. Bajog said that those who be[...] ed that good partnership in marr[...] depended on a common bedroom [...] even on a double bed were mistaken. [...] said that people needed a certain de[...] of freedom and of privacy, even in m[...] riage.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 18 March 19[...])

Careless mouth care today, a big bill tomorrow

RHEINISCHE POST

West Germans have an "almost unbelievable" attitude towards dental hygiene, according to Professor Reinhold Bergler. of Bonn University. He says that only a very small proportion of adults clean their teeth three times a day.

Bergler told an information forum in Düsseldorf that costs of dental treatment and dentures amounted to between DM8bn and DM10bn a year.

As Germans say less about their dental hygiene than for example about their sex lives precise figures are difficult to collect. However, comparative studies have shown that only about three to six per cent of Germans clean their teeth three times a day. Many people walk around all day as "dental pests."

There are many causes for this neglect. There are gaps in education. Bergler said that some parents put more stress on closing the toothpaste tube correctly than teaching their children how to brush their teeth properly.

The keen response to the North Rhine-Westphalian dentists' information campaign in kindergartens and schools underlined the ground that had to be made up here.

Bergler criticised the fact that communication between dentists and patients was poor, but this view has yet to be substantiated empirically.

However it is clear that the system used for example in Switzerland, where one dental assistant is solely responsible for oral hygiene, has proved highly successful. Bergler suggested that general practitioners should also put more emphasis on preventive dental care.

He said that new learning strategies would have to be developed and that health education at school should be a timetable subject. Manufacturers could also make an important contribution by making proper teeth care more fun rather than spending millions on advertising.

One leading cosmetics firm has developed a toothpaste doser which operates on the pressure and vacuum principle and enables even children to spread toothpaste simply and cleanly.

Clinical tests by independent doctors have shown that this toothpaste successfully combats plaque and tartar.

Dr Erhad Keller, dentist and former Olympic ice-skating gold medallist, explained that one milligramme of dental plaque contains millions and millions of bacteria. When these bacteria have been in the mouth long enough, they attack tooth enamel and caries begins. Then repair treatment is necessary, as enamel is not capable of regeneration.

Keller said that regular dental hygiene from childhood on could prevent caries and periodontosis. Dentists should employ specially trained assistants to explain to patients the importance of regular teeth care and dental checks.

Karlheinz Welkens

(Rheinische Post, 21 March 1981)

EDUCATION

Obsession with marks blamed for suicides and drug-taking

The West German education system must take some of the blame for between 500 and 700 suicides by children every year, according to the president of the German Education Association, Herr Ebert.

He says that the system, which is in a "pedagogical and structural crisis", must also take some responsibility for the more than 600 deaths from drugs and between 10,000 and 18,000 suicide attempts a year.

Herr Ebert is strongly critical of the way schools ignore pupils' individuality, and he objects to the obsession with marks.

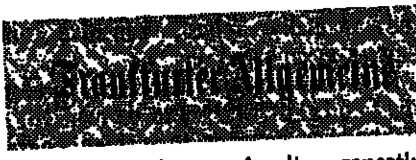
Indeed he would like to see grades done away with altogether, as is already the case in the Scandinavian countries.

The Education Ministers' Conference has just published a report on school leavers from 1975 to 1979 which tells an even grimmer story.

At first sight, the report seems to be a record of real achievements: more and more pupils are passing the leaving certificate or the Abitur.

Herr Christians, president of the German Association of Grammar School Teachers, has argued that this is because overall standards have dropped.

However, these statistics can also be read in another way. The large numbers of successful pupils tend to blind us to the *number* who do not get any kind of



school certificate, despite repeating classes once or even twice.

In 1979, there were 411,500 youngsters who passed the school leaving certificate, as against 78,300 who failed, who so to speak "dropped out of the system" and who are predestined for despair, apathy and, at best, unskilled work. This is a shockingly high number of failures, though it may be slightly exaggerated because an increasing number of these drop-outs eventually retrain or take courses enabling them to gain their leaving certificate later.

It is also some consolation, though not a particularly powerful one, that the number of failures dropped in the period covered in the report from 86,000 (11 per cent) in 1975 to 78,300 (8 per cent) in 1979.

One should also take into account that among these failures there is an increasingly high proportion of foreign pupils. In fact, German pupils probably perform better overall than these figures indicate.

Nonetheless, the average number of failures for each of these five years was 80,000, which adds up to a huge army of youngsters without prospects. Experience shows that very few have the energy and the intellectual abilities to take courses and pass their school certificate later. It is not only secondary modern school pupils who leave school without qualifications. The 78,300 "failures" in 1979 included just under 60,000 secondary modern school pupils, as against 370,000 who passed the school leaving certificate.

About 4,300 pupils left technical schools without qualifications, 3,400 left grammar schools and 2,400 left comprehensive schools empty handed. The number of pupils leaving special schools without a qualification was 8,300.

But these statistics do not give the complete picture. In 1979, 6,500 pupils transferred from technical to secondary modern schools, where they took their leaving certificates.

Also, 36,400 grammar school pupils left with the equivalent of O levels or else left grammar schools in their penultimate year with the entrance qualification for technical colleges.

Many of both these categories of pupils had chequered school careers behind them, with classes repeated, tension at home and interruptions.

As for the many pupils who do not make the grade at grammar and technical schools and pass the school leaving certificate after transferring to secondary modern schools — are they going to grow up into confident and successful citizens?

Youth without work

Percentage of under 25 jobless (1980)

Country	%
Japan	3.5
The Federal Republic of Germany	3.9
Britain	10.6
USA	13.3
France	14.8
Italy	27.5

(estimates)

The hidden tragedies behind many of these statistics should force politicians and educational planners alike to think about the large numbers of children who choose a school form which is simply too difficult for them. The abolition of marks does not solve the problem, merely disguises it for a while.

At the latest, employers or further education institutes will find out whether the pupil has "got what it takes."

In the present system, parents are allowed to choose the school form which they think most suitable for their pupils.

Parents are often ambitious and force their children into school forms which simply overtax them. And of course "parents can be wrong too", as Count Waldburg-Zeil illuminatingly observed to a Bundestag committee last year.

Brigitte Mohr

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 26 March 1981)



■ LABOUR

The long, lonely vigil of the shift worker

In 1801, Goethe wrote in his diary: "The jarring sound of the horn woke me out of the deepest of sleep. It was as if it had encroached right into my bedsheets."

But as a cabinet minister he had no problems silencing the nightwatchman. A word with the police was enough.

Today's night work is less noisy. In fact, it is shrouded in so much silence that we do not even know the exact number of those who swop their beds for a place of work night after night.

Night work in Holland is surveyed every three years. In West Germany the figures are treated with considerable discretion.

Researchers have long deplored the fact that our statistical yearbook provides no information on shift and night work.

The last available data relate to 1975 and were not published until last year. According to this information, which was released by the Federal Statistical Office in Wiesbaden, there are some 22 million working people in this country of whom 3.5 million, one-sixth, work pure night shifts or alternating shifts with some night work.

And then there are the self-employed with night-intensive occupations.

Assuming a total working population now of 26 million, 5.7 million (close to one-fourth) frequently work at a time when the rest of the population slips between the sheets.

This figure does not include occasional night workers like researchers, who traditionally like to work in the quiet hours of the night.

This work by artificial light was by no means common in a day and age when candles provided little light for much money. It was not until the advent of electric lighting that the night was turned into day.

Though night work is not reserved for any particular age group, most night

Hannoversche Allgemeine

workers are men aged between 25 and 40.

And most of them have small children whose daily rhythm is irreconcilable with the hours of a night worker.

A survey shows that most of these workers lament the fact that they have so little time to devote to their children.

Notwithstanding the different shift arrangements in such occupations as engine driver, printer, fireman, computer operator, blast furnace worker, nurse, policeman, etc., all such night work means social and health problems.

But the time when shift workers bore their cross in silence seems to be coming to an end.

Humanising work does not mean providing statistical declarations of intent and medical research. But such research results are painfully slow in having any practical effect.

Personnel officers, for instance, deny that night work is harmful, although this has been proved by industrial medicine specialists.

Discussions with night workers show that many of the problems, taken individually, can be solved.

Recently retired engine driver Willy K. still has a hard time getting used to a regular day.

He spent decades living on sandwiches made by his wife because cafeterias are closed at night.

It was little consolation to him that this is a common problem for night workers, notwithstanding the fact that doctors have for years urged that hot meals be provided, which could easily be done through automatic dispensers.

The three and five hour breaks that engine drivers spend in hostels en route don't make for a decent sleep, and Willy K. never managed to train himself to make do with such catnaps.

Still, he was fortunate to have had considerate neighbours who tried to be as quiet as possible when they saw that his bedroom curtains were drawn.

While the industrial night worker can fight sleepiness as part of a group, the engine driver has to cope with it on his own. Only at speeds of more than 140 kph does he get a co-driver.

Willy K. is missing on most family photographs of christenings, birthdays, etc. and parent-teacher association meetings were usually attended by his wife only.

He says wryly: "You wouldn't imagine how many theatre tickets I didn't have to buy. As I see it, it's nonsense to say that you eventually get used to turning day into night."

This is no news to doctors. They have long known that night workers must work when human energy is at its lowest, i.e. between 2a.m. and 4 a.m.

And when they go to bed in the morning the body does not crave sleep and the natural time indicators such as bright light and life all around carry the message of energy and activity.

Shifts with much night work in short succession make the sleep deficit cumulative and so lead to many physical disorders.

The density of rail traffic during the day has relegated freight transport and shunting to the night.

So far, financial incentives have sweetened the pill.

Now, however, the younger generation has less inclination to use what would otherwise be free time to earn "filthy lucre".

This applies not only to the Bundesbahn, where on most nights there are many absentees.

Just to keep business going, more and more overtime hours need to be worked to make up for the lack of shift work.

The fire brigade works around the clock. Divisional fire officer Herr M. keeps going through long hours of unbroken on-call duty by drinking coffee. And he enjoys every cup.

Many night workers manage to last through the dead hours only through a high intake of coffee, nicotine and other stimulants.

Alcohol and sleeping pills are often taken after work to get to sleep.

When they are on call firemen are allowed to sleep, but usually the noise is too great. Even in his own bed at home, Herr M. immediately sits up in bed when his subconscious registers light or noises. And his friends are almost all firemen themselves, who understand that he is not always available socially.

The wives of night workers also have problems. They often have to work from morning to night to attend to the needs of their children and their husbands. Often they have to cook or heat up meals several times a day. Then they have to chauffeur husband and children around and teach their children to understand that their father's sleep is sacred. Such women have to be physically and mentally robust, sensitive and above-average organisers.

It is no accident that firms prefers night and shift workers to be married. A nightworker depends to a high degree on the support of his family. And many marriages break down under the pressure.

Many unmarried night workers find it difficult enough to meet a prospective wife. And even those who work outside night hours in the strict sense (from, say 10p.m. to 6a.m.) have little chance of spending their leisure time socially with others — if for example they work in the catering trade from 4 p.m. to 12 midnight.

And night workers would also like some social life between working and falling into bed. It is typical of the reduced social life of night and late shift workers that their contacts are almost exclusively with colleagues.

Cultural life and training courses generally take place in the evening and so workers in companies with shift systems often suffer more from isolation and the retreat into family life than "genuine" night workers.

Shift workers often do not get home until well after midnight. They have to drive home dog-tired and accident prone, because local public transport services cater only for the day-worker.

If the place of work is hot and noisy or if the work is monotonous or involves dangerous chemicals — as is often the case in companies where staff work round the clock — then the additional health risk posed by chronic lack of sleep is totally unacceptable.

Furthermore, the maximum exposure level to dangerous substances is generally worked out for day workers alone. At night, the body functions more slowly, and the ability to reduce these poisonous substances is probably reduced.

The stresses and dangers to which policemen are exposed generally manifest themselves psychologically. Half of them work shifts involving night work.

Staff shortages in cities mean that every policeman frequently has to do night and weekend work.

North Rhine-Westphalian Ministry of the Interior, for example, paid DM1.5m to install double glazing in police flats. Traffic noise is the second main danger to sleep during the day after children shouting. Relaxed and friendly policemen something devoutly to be wished.

As well as the usual complaints of night and shift-workers, policemen are particularly prone to back and spine problems. This is a problem which also affects taxi drivers and lorry drivers.

Only the very fit are accepted in the police force, but the strains caused to a large extent by irregular working hours take a heavy toll on the health.

Industry often points proudly to the low sickness levels among shift and night workers — but this pride is not justified. The selection criteria are tough, and only very fit workers are accepted for shift work. Those who cannot stand the pace are transferred to less demanding work, often with a wage reduction.

The dilemma here seems insoluble — if ex-shift workers were paid the higher shift work rates this would annoy day-shift colleagues, who would effectively be doing the same work for less pay.

Night workers in large companies generally get better and more thorough medical attention then their colleagues in smaller companies.

However, trust in company doctors is not overwhelming and many workers feel that they collaborate with management.

According to the National Association of Health Insurance Schemes no separate statistics kept on shift and night workers. Scientists have however discovered that there is a high incidence of sicknesses leading to early invalidity among such workers. However, no causal connection has been established. In the US, night shifts are known as "graveyard shifts."

Better pay for night work is another thorny problem. On the one hand, night work is tougher and this must be recognised financially.

In the past it was believed wrongly that higher night work rates would prevent workers objecting to the introduction of too much night work. On the other hand, higher pay for night work tempts many workers to play fast and loose with their own health, especially when night work is combined with overtime.

Dr W., a hospital doctor, frequently has to do night work or to be on call. He also puts in a lot of overtime, as he has to be present punctually every morning for operations. When he is at home and on call, he has to stay within range of the telephone, which could ring at any time, calling him back to the hospital.

His wife calls him a "breakfast daddy" as his family only sees him at the breakfast table.

About 56,000 doctors, housemen and medical assistants regularly do night work in West German hospitals. A poll by the *Marburger Bund* (A German Medical Association) last year showed that despite all the inadequacies of the present system most doctors refuse to work regular shift work as this disturbs their contact with patients.

Of course there are areas, such as hospitals and parts of the public service, where night shifts cannot be abolished. What is needed here is organisational reform and the creation of more permanent posts, which means a reduction of pressure on the individual. A society which expects services around the clock also has the duty to take care of those who provide these services.

Although no precise figures are available, experts predict that night work will become more common, especially in areas such as electronic data processing, in banks, insurance and commercial companies.

As computer workplaces are expensive, companies prefer to have their workers doing night work than to buy another computer. Here, night work is justified purely in terms of economic necessity, not in terms of social or production-related need.

However, this should not be overstressed. The possibilities of savings in the storage area thanks, to rapid evaluation of the previous day's figures are considerable and in the final analysis they benefit the whole company.

In a difficult employment situation, night work is of course better than no work at all. Those who use clever computer programmes to eliminate night work can just as easily "rationalise" day-time jobs out of existence. So often the problem of night work is played down for fear of further unemployment.

Every discussion of the problems of night and shift work shows that the night workers suffer from their work and need

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SPORT

Boxing tournament falls below expectations

The Inter-Cup boxing tournament from now on is to be held every [illegible] years instead of annually.

This is one of the upshots of this year's tournament in Münster which was a sporting and financial failure.

Financially, the German Amateur Boxing Association (DABV) cannot afford another along the same lines.

Association officials billed the tournament as the international German championships and the winners' medals bore the stamp: "International German Championships".

The list of entrants looked promising, with 88 boxers from 14 countries.

But only Bulgaria, Nigeria, Italy, Israel, Greece, Turkey, Uganda and the United States sent official delegations.

The Americans sent their air force boxers, the Nigerians their army boxers.

And foreign entrants from Egypt, Yugoslavia, the Cameroons, Uganda, Hungary and Turkey box for German clubs and were entered by their regional associations.

In addition, many of the top German boxers were unable to appear. Kopzog is injured, Stefan Gertel is recovering from a foot operation, and doctors vetoed appearances by European champions Müller and Hussing.

However, it was not all pessimism. Karl-Heinz Wehr, of East Germany, who is vice-president of the European Amateur Boxing Association, was very polite about the tournament.

He said that the finals "made up for a lot of things." They were comparable in quality with the Chemiepokal tournament in Halle, a top-class East German event, he said.

The tournament was dominated by the Bulgarians (six gold medals) and West Germans, (five).

The remaining medal won by "the rest of the world" went to an 18-year-old Italian in the super heavyweight division.

Chianese Biaggio, from Naples, knocked out experienced Bulgarian Petar Stoimenov, and was visibly overwhelmed at the victory and the enthusiastic applause that it brought.

The five West German gold medallists were Suckrow (Berlin), Weller (Leverkusen), Jassmann (Korbach), Künstler (Worms) and Heistermann (Berlin).

Harald Künstler and Karl Heinz Heistermann were delighted with their victories. The latter now has a chance of being nominated for the European championships in Tampere in May.

According to national trainer Wemhöner, the aim of the whole Münster exercise was "to find an objective basis for finding where we stand".

Following the tournament, Manfred Jassmann must be right at the top of the list. His unanimous points win over Ajunbo Araka, of the Cameroons, was impressive.

At the bottom must come Kurt Seiler, whose private problems seem to be affecting his boxing.

Looking ahead, of those Germans who were unable to fight in Münster, Müller and Hussing have their days in international rings numbered.

Müller says he is going to retire after the European championships because he has lost his appetite for the game.

Trainer Wemhöner has not even tried to make him change his mind: "He was too good to retire defeated."

However, Wemhöner has had serious words with Hussing and has pulled him out of the squad for Tampere because of bad form.

Hussing described his omission as "a premature April fool's day joke."

From now on the Inter-Cup will be held every two years instead of annually.

It will be difficult to find a good date for this competition. The price of trying to establish the Inter-Cup as a major international competition this year was high.

Wemhöner tried to look on the bright side, saying that the competition showed what could be improved. He pointedly observed that "it would be terrible if only one person learnt anything from it." An international German Championship as a learning process.

Well, at least it was something.

Hans-Joachim Leyenberg

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 30 March 1981)



Rene Weller (left) lands a left hook on the chin of Georg Vlachos in an all-German lightweight final at the Inter-Cup tournament in Münster. Weller won. (Photo: dpa)

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the sympathy and help from society.

The intense use of machinery and equipment often means greater exploitation and *wearing* down of workers.

This applies to both socialist and capitalist societies, though East Germany makes the scarcely tenable distinction between night and shift work as "a factor in socialist progress" and "capitalist" night work.

In East Germany, women are also allowed to do night work. This can help marriages between shift workers but raising children becomes more difficult, if there are not enough grandmothers or [illegible] to look the children.

The tactic of trying to dissuade bosses from introducing night shifts by demanding high extra payments does not seem to have been very successful so the unions are likely to make more extensive and specific demands about night work in future.

The unions and the employers are prepared to negotiate. Shift work cannot be dismissed as a marginal problem in society, as it affects almost one in [illegible] workers and their families.

Night work is not an irrevocable law of nature. And therefore the question of whether it is really necessary needs to be asked again and again.

There are no universal solutions that solve all problems at a stroke. Only patience and energy can gradually eliminate abuses. Night workers regret that their problems are discussed at the same [illegible] as those of day workers.

Night work has to be, but in the hectic maelstrom of industrial activity there is a danger that the creative power of nocturnal stillness will go by the board.

Do we not resemble the masses described by Edgar Allan Poe who seek to escape nocturnal solitude by restless activity.

A society which has shut age and death out of its consciousness perhaps does not want to accept the realty of the night.

Renate Miehe

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 28 March 1981)

Soccer clubs battle to balance the books

The West German Bundesliga is up to its ears in debt. And most club chairmen dream not so much of winning the championship as of balancing their books, though a league title would help.

The total debt of the German first division is DM34 million.

In England, the corresponding figure is DM80 million.

But the European debt champions are undoubtedly the Italians, who owe DM100 million.

How did all this come about?

Very few clubs have healthy balance sheets. Indeed profit and loss calculation will be even more difficult for many clubs soon, because from next season onwards the North and South sections of the second division are to be merged into one supra-regional second division.

Many managers are now turning to advertising rather than footballing success as the source of income. Bayern Munich has founded a separate company for souvenir sales.

Werder Bremen, relegated from the first division recently, is trying to re-educate the fans with the slogan: Come to football after your coffee and cake.

Some of the talk about the crisis in football finances is exaggerated. The mountain of debt looks less awesome when one considers, for instance, that Bayern Munich and Hamburg SV alone have total assets of DM20 million. Some experts even add players' value here and reckon that the combined assets of these clubs amount to DM70 million.

Including players in the balance sheets is a dubious method, however.

There is no shadow of a doubt that the Bundesliga is living beyond its means. The game is going through a crisis. Is this because entrance prices are too high and the standard of comfort in the stadia too low? Has the ordinary fan simply had too much football? Is competition from television bad for the game?

An important point here is that the ordinary football fan no longer identifies with his club and its players. In the old days, the HSV players were all Hamburg men. Today Hamburg's best known stars are Franz Beckenbauer from Munich and Felix Magath from Aschaffenburg.

And there is no sign of anyone to match Uwe Seeler, who once worked as hard on the park as his father had done in the Hamburg docks.

The insane transfer system has also taken its toll the selling and buying of players at astronomical prices.

In Argentina recently, Diego Maradona switched clubs for just under DM20 million.

And Juventus Turin bought Paolo Rossi for DM6.5 million. Both players will have received huge sums in their hands.

Poor countries, rich players?

West German professional footballers do not live too badly either. However, the drop in turnstile income has led to economy measures.

There is an unmistakable trend for clubs to keep down wage levels and to tie players' bonuses to attendances.

It would be wrong to blame players' selfishness entirely for this development. Club management and organisation is often even more to blame.

Honorary officials often behave as if clubs were just items in a huge game of monopoly. It is not until the club bank says "stop" that some boards of directors start doing their sums.

This was the case with Eintracht Munich. When debts rose to DM4.4 million, chairman Erich Riedl sounded the alarm. Is his hobby about to ruin his reputation? After all, he is a Bundestag MP and even the CSU budget expert.

Even the football scene has its drop-outs. Karl-Heinz Thielen, former German international and graduate economist, gave up his post as club manager with FC Cologne and turned down a job offer from Schalke 04.

He believes the Bundesliga could die unless there is a radical change in the system.

Perhaps running Bundesliga clubs will become a hobby for millionaires. Prince Rainier of Monaco spends DM2 million a year to keep Monaco in the French first division.

But this is hardly the solution, even though some Bundesliga chairmen may feel they come into the category of big-money earning small-state monarchs.

Manfred Lehnen

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 30 March 1981)